



Language and Culture Archives

Kalabuan clauses

John A. Spitzack

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KALABUAN CLAUSES

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ABBREVIATIONS

Amb Vb	Ambient Verb
Bitrans Pred Vb	Bitransitive Predicate Verb
Bitrans Pred VP	Bitransitive Predicate Phrase
Coe	Numerical Coefficient
Comp NP	Comparison Noun Phrase
Desc P	Descriptive Phrase
Desc W	Descriptive Word
Decl Cl	Declarative Clause
Emp	Emphatic
Eval P	Evaluative Phrase
Eval W	Evaluative Word
Exist P	Existential Phrase
Exist W	Existential Word
Frus	Frustrative Particle
ImpV	Imperative Verb
Ind Pro	Indefinite Pronoun
Inter P	Interrogative Phrase
Inter W	Interrogative Word
Intj	Interjective
Inton Mod	Intonation Modification
Intran Vb	Intransitive Verb
Intran VP	Intransitive Verb Phrase
Lig	Ligature
Loc P	Locative Phrase
Loc W	Locative Word
Mkr	Marker
Mod Decl Cl	Modified Declarative Clause
Neg Exist P	Negative Existential Phrase
Neg Exist W	Negative Existential Word
Nom Cl	Nominal Clause
Nom Vb	Nominal Verb
Nom VP	Nominal Verb Phrase
Noun	Noun Word
NP	Noun Phrase
NTM	Non-topic Marker
Num NP	Number Noun Phrase
Pet	Petitive
(pl)	Plural
PL	Plural
PL Prn P	Plural Pronoun Phrase
PL Prn W	Plural Pronoun Word
Poss NP	Possessive Noun Phrase
Prn P	Pronoun Phrase
Prn W	Pronoun Word
Prp NP	Proper Noun Phrase
Prp N	Proper Noun
Rec	Reciprocal
Rec Trans Vb	Reciprocal Transitive Verb
Rec Trans VP	Reciprocal Transitive Verb Phrase
Rem	Remote
SG	Singular
(sg)	Singular
Spec	Specifier

Subor P or W	Subordinating Phrase or Word
Tm P	Time Phrase
Tm W	Time Word
TM	Topic Marker
Tran Cl	Transitive Clause
Trans Vb	Transitive Verb
Trans VP	Transitive Verb Phrase
Vb	Verb
VP	Verb Phrase

0 Introduction

The Kalabuan (or Kolobuan) language is a Paitanic language spoken by groups living on the upper reaches of the Kinabatangan River in central Sabah (King 1984).

The following discussion posits nine clause types for the Kalabuan language. There are six verbal clause types and three non-verbal. The clause, as the "building block" of Kalabuan syntax, is defined as the minimum utterance or string of speech that is spoken in any situation entailing more than the simple response to a direct question or comment in a dialogue.

The format for the various discussions is simple. First there is a brief introductory comment about the clause type, followed by an array of the clause formula and the rules governing this formula, and then illustrative examples. In most cases the constituent tagmeme that is the topic of the clause is marked by underlining and represents the focus of the predicate of that clause.

Each of these clause types is arrayed as it stands in its declarative mood. Other features are handled as modifications of these clauses. These modifying features include Interrogative, Imperative, and Subordination.

VERBAL CLAUSES

1 Transitive Clauses

There are four subtypes of transitive clauses in Kalabuan: the standard Transitive clause, the modified Reciprocal Transitive, the Intensive Transitive, and the Quotative Transitive. These clauses are grouped together because of the similarity in their arrays, but they are separated as subtypes either because their nuclear tagmemes are not the same or because they have a very restricted application.

1.1 Transitive Clause

The Transitive clause consists of three nuclear tagmemes: Predicate, Actor, and Undergoer. The only obligatory tagmeme is the Predicate tagmeme, which is filled by a transitive verb (Trans Vb) or verb phrase (Trans VP). In the case of a verb phrase when the Actor tagmeme is a pronoun word, the verb phrase is normally split by the actor pronoun.

The Actor and Undergoer tagmemes are nuclear to the array. The Actor tagmeme is filled by a pronoun (Prn W) or pronoun phrase (Prn P), a proper noun (Prp N), or a noun phrase (NP). The Undergoer tagmeme is filled by either an animate or inanimate noun phrase, a pronoun or pronoun phrase, or a proper noun.

All other tagmemes are considered marginal to the Transitive clause. The Location tagmeme may be filled by a location word or phrase or a noun phrase. The Time tagmeme may be filled by a time word or phrase. The Instrument tagmeme may be filled by a noun phrase. The Manner tagmeme is filled by a descriptive word (Desc W) or phrase (Desc P). The Purpose tagmeme is filled by a verb (Vb) or verb phrase (VP).

No doubt due to an inherent constituent load, only one marginal tagmeme can be found in clauses in natural text unless one or more nuclear tagmemes is absent. Elicited data may have several marginal tagmemes, but thus far no clause in unelicited text material has been found having more than four tagmemes, including the obligatory Predicate.

Declarative Transitive clause

+ Predicate	± Actor	± Undergoer	± Location	± Time
Trans VP Trans Vb	Prn P Prn W Prp N NP	NP Prn W Prn P Prp N	Loc P Loc W NP	Tm P Tm W

± Instrument	± Manner	± Purpose
NP	Descr P Descr W	VP Vb

Rules:

1. The actor tagmeme may permute to a prepredicate position if the predicate is marked for actor focus.
2. The actor tagmeme will normally split a predicate phrase when it is filled by a pronoun word.
3. The undergoer tagmeme is permutable. It may be forefronted to a pre-predicate or a pre-actor position or move to a clause final position when it is the focus of the predicate.
4. The Location and Time tagmemes may sometimes permute with one another.
5. The Manner tagmeme may permute to a prepredicate position.
6. When one of the Instrument, Manner, or Purpose tagmemes is present, no other marginal tagmemes are found in the syntagmeme.

Examples:

The following are examples of minimal transitive clauses having all three nuclear tagmemes present:

	PREDICATE	<u>ACTOR</u>	UNDERGOER	
1	Manuu command	aku I	so' lalaing NTM child	wokon. other

'I sent another child.'

	PREDICATE	<u>ACTOR</u>	UNDERGOER	
2	Mamaalo have.made	siro they	so' basalag. NTM shelter	

'They made a shelter.'

	<u>PREDICATE</u>	<u>ACTOR</u>	<u>UNDERGOER</u>
3	Daa not	kapanday toko can.know we	kaawi' so' sara no' adat-adat all NTM way Lig customs
	atawa' or.even	tagial. play	

'We don't all know the ways of (our) customs or even (our) play.'

The Actor tagmeme can be forefronted to a prepredicate position when it is the focus of the predicate, as below:

	<u>ACTOR</u>	<u>PREDICATE</u>
4	Anak offspr	niaano mangalod. his.PL angry.at

'His children will be angry (at you).'

	<u>ACTOR</u>		<u>PREDICATE</u>		<u>UNDERGOER</u>
5	Boo turtle	situ this	nangium searched.for	so' NTM	punti. banana

'This turtle searched for a banana tree.'

The Undergoer tagmeme also can be forefronted when it is the focus of the predicate:

	<u>UNDERGOER</u>	<u>PREDICATE</u>	<u>ACTOR</u>
6	Giraw rice.wine	wagu then	inimum search.for nasiro they tu. this

'Then they searched for rice wine.'

	<u>UNDERGOER</u>	<u>PREDICATE</u>	<u>ACTOR</u>
7	Ido kaang one large.jar	naayangan was.found	tu. this.one

'This fellow found a single jar.'

The Undergoer tagmeme may be moved to a pre-actor position if it is in focus and there is an Instrument tagmeme, as in the first example below. But as the following examples illustrate, this is not always the case:

	PREDICATE	<u>UNDERGOER</u>	ACTOR		
8	Alapo' take	aku I	ni NTM	Wili Willy	om and
				INSTRUMENT	
	ni NTM	ali' son	so' NTM	karita'. vehicle	

'Willy and my son took me by car.'

	PREDICATE	ACTOR	<u>UNDERGOER</u>	INSTRUMENT
9	Lansangon nail	ku I	kaakayu sm.wood	no that
				so' NTM
				tukul. hammer

'I put a nail into the board with the hammer.'

	PREDICATE	ACTOR	<u>UNDERGOER</u>	INSTRUMENT
10	Piison split	ku I	papan board	tu this
				so' NTM
				basi. machete

'I split this board with the machete.'

In the case of a long Predicate phrase when the Actor is absent from the expansion, the Undergoer may split the Predicate even if it is a NP rather than a pronoun:

	PREDICATE	<u>UNDERGOER</u>	PREDICATE		
11	Daa not	adapat able	apuy fire	sono that	mamada'? extinguish

'Were (you) not able to put out the fire?'

The following example shows a transitive clause filling the statement tag-meme of an evaluation cleft sentence. The first word *asuango* 'many' is the evaluation.

		PREDICATE	ACTOR	<u>UNDERGOER</u>
12	Asuango many	inambot met	ku I	labuu. person

'I've met lots of people.' or 'Many people have I met.'

The Actor tagmeme when filled by a pronoun (either topic or non-topic) will frequently split a Predicate filled by a verb phrase:

	┌──────────────────┐			
	PREDICATE	<u>ACTOR</u>	PREDICATE	
13	Daa	buli	aku	mantagial
	not	can	I	play
	UNDERGOER			
	so'	siro	si maman	om si minan.
	NTM	they	TM uncle	and TM aunt

'I cannot play with my uncle or my aunt.'

(It is not known why the nouns within the NP of the Undergoer tagmeme are marked as topic while the tagmeme itself is marked as non-topic, but it presumably can be dealt with on a lower level or as an embedded equative clause.)

This "splitting of the Predicate" is also done in order to attach a subordinating word to the verb phrase:

	┌──────────────────┐			
	PREDICATE	<u>ACTOR</u>	PREDICATE	
14	Moopod	kai	mangapuy ...	
	finish	we	cook	

'When we finished cooking ...'

It is not uncommon for at least one of the nuclear tagmemes to be absent from the clause; it is most frequently the Actor tagmeme, even though it may be the focus of the predicate, as below:

	PREDICATE	UNDERGOER	
15	pamamali	so'	kana'.
	buy	NTM	side.dish

'... in order to buy some meat.'

In the following example the Undergoer tagmeme is the focus of the Predicate but is absent from the syntagmeme:

	PREDICATE	ACTOR	LOCATION	
16	Aiton	ku	dii	rayo.
	bring	I	there	upstream

'I bring (it) upstream.'

An expanded transitive clause including a Location tagmeme is shown below:

	PREDICATE	ACTOR	<u>UNDERGOER</u>		LOCATION
17	Kasiawi	kuo	ido	tu	diia'.
	can.see	I	one	this	there.even

'I could see this one over there, too.'

An expanded transitive clause including a Time tagmeme is shown below:

	PREDICATE		ACTOR	<u>UNDERGOER</u>	
18	Okon ko'	winaal	mai	itu	so'
	don't Emp	deeds	we	this	NTM
		TIME			
		masa' no'	pinusawaan		situ.
		time Lig	wedding		this

'We shouldn't do these things during this wedding.'

An expanded transitive clause with the focus of the Predicate on the Actor tagmeme and including a Purpose tagmeme is shown below:

	PREDICATE	UNDERGOER		PURPOSE	
19	Mangalap	so'	sungoy	untuk	pangungugas.
	take	NTM	water	for	cleaner

'He (should) take some water to clean (it).'

The Time tagmeme may permute with the Undergoer tagmeme, making the in-focus Undergoer clause final, as below. (This may indicate a dual focus of both Time and Undergoer.)

	PREDICATE	ACTOR	TIME		<u>UNDERGOER</u>
20	Pagsiow at.once.see	mai we	mulai beginning	paratama' tu first this	paruka'. barking.deer

'Right away we caught sight of a barking deer.'

The following are examples of Manner tagmemes attached to a Transitive Predicate. The normal ordering of tagmemes is demonstrated in the first example, while the second shows the unusual forefronting of both the Manner and Actor tagmemes within the same syntagmeme.

	PREDICATE	<u>ACTOR</u>	MANNER
21	Pagsiow at.once.see	nasiro they	banar. true

'Suddenly they really saw it.'

	MANNER	<u>ACTOR</u>	PREDICATE
22	Asusa' difficult	io he	mangaaw. climb

'It was very hard for him to climb (it).'

The transitive clause in Kalabuan can be expanded to more than four tagmemes through elicitation, though it may force the Time tagmeme to a sentence level role. This is based on the fact that it is no longer permutable with the Location tagmeme except to a clause initial position. (See below for an example of permutability of the Time and Location tagmemes.)

		<u>Natural Text</u>			<u>Elicited Text</u>
	<u>ACTOR</u>	PREDICATE	UNDERGOER	[LOCATION	TIME]
23	Si Sinan no TM Sinan that	nangubat treated	so' kai NTM we	[dii [there	rumasakit dispensary
				sasarap] morning]	

'Sinan treated us [at the dispensary this morning].'

If the Undergoer tagmeme from above is not included in the expansion, the Time tagmeme and the tagmeme that indicates Location are permutable within the clause, which indicates that the Location tagmeme may be a clause level constituent rather than sentence level even when there are no more than four tagmemes present.

	<u>ACTOR</u>		PREDICATE	TIME	LOCATION
24	Si Sinan	no	nangubat	sasarap	dii rumasakit.
	TM Sinan	that	treated	morning	there dispensary'

'Sinan treated (us) at the dispensary this morning.'

In some Transitive clauses none of the tagmemes are marked for focus. In the following example the verb appears to be marked for Undergoer focus but, in fact, the Undergoer tagmeme is marked as non-topic by the oblique marker so':

	PREDICATE	ACTOR	UNDERGOER
25	Itapis	ku	so' ulu niono.
	apply.medication	I	NTM head his.SG

(Could this be an example of a bitransitive verb with the focused Inanimate Undergoer absent? Or is the focus of the Predicate actually the Range of the verb? That is, does the sentence say:

- 1) ACTOR PREDICATE INANIMATE UNDERGOER ANIMATE GOAL
'I applied (medication) on his head.'

or is it actually saying:

- 2) ACTOR PREDICATE(RANGE) UNDERGOER
'I applied.medication on his head.'

or even:

- 3) ACTOR PREDICATE UNDERGOER
'I medicated his head.'

In the first possibility the Inanimate Undergoer is the focus of the sentence, but is absent. In the second possibility the Predicate is focusing on an absent Range. In the third possibility the sentence simply has no tagmeme in focus and is a simple Transitive clause.)

1.2 Reciprocal Transitive Clause

The modified Reciprocal Transitive clause consists of nuclear Predicate and Actor tagmemes. The syntagmeme may be expanded to include margins of Location and Time. The exponent of the Actor tagmeme must be plural. The action of

the reciprocal verb is somehow performed between actors or in a reciprocal relation one to the other.

Reciprocal Transitive clause

+ Predicate	<u>±</u> Actor	<u>±</u> Location	<u>±</u> Time
Rec Trans VP Rec Trans Vb	PL Prn P PL Prn W Prop NP	Loc P Loc W NP	Tm P Tm W

Rules:

1. The Actor tagmeme must be filled by a plural animate agent.
2. The Location and Time tagmemes are permutable with each other in the same way as in the Transitive clause type.

Examples:

The minimal expansion of a Reciprocal clause includes the Predicate and Actor tagmemes, which, in the case of the latter, is sometimes absent in a sentence containing another clause with the same Actor. Following is an example of the minimal Reciprocal clause:

	<u>PREDICATE</u>	<u>ACTOR</u>
26	Kapusawo when.married	kau ... you(pl)

‘When you are married (to each other) ...’

In the following example the Actor does not appear to be the focus of the Predicate since the non-topic pronoun is used:

	<u>PREDICATE</u>	<u>ACTOR</u>
27	Mualod Rec.angry.at	nasiro. they

‘They are quarreling.’

The topic form of the pronoun can be used with no change in the verb, as below:

	PREDICATE	<u>ACTOR</u>
28	Mualod Rec.angry.at	siro. they

'They are quarreling.'

When the Location and Time tagmemes are added, the Actor may drop out, even when it is the focus of the Predicate:

	PREDICATE	LOCATION		TIME
29	Mupatoy-patoy Rec.kill-kill	salalom bilik inside room	dardia' class	sampay waa mutaatangi'. until be Rec.crying

'They kept fighting (with each other) in the classroom until there was crying.'

In elicited and translated texts the Actor tagmeme may be present in the same expansion as the Location and Time tagmemes:

	PREDICATE	<u>ACTOR</u>	LOCATION		TIME
30	Mupapadiu' Rec.bathe	siro they	dii so' there NTM	kolam pool	saniab. yesterday

'They bathed together in the pool yesterday.'

1.3 Intentive Transitive Clause

The Intentive Transitive clause is posited here to handle those having a very restricted application using the verb *uang*. The three tagmemes which are posited include the obligatory Predicate and Actor and the optional Undergoer. The Undergoer tagmeme is in a special relation with the Predicate but is not actually acted upon.

The only verb in the Intentive Transitive clause is *uang* 'intend, like'. Generally it accepts no verbal affixation.

Intentive Transitive clause

+ Predicate	+ Actor	\pm Undergoer
<i>uang</i>	NP Prn P Prn W Prp N	NP Prn P Prn W Prp N

Rules:

1. The only filler found in the Predicate is the unaffixed **uang**.
2. The Actor must be filled with an animate agent or patient.

Examples:

The full expansion of the Intentive clause is shown below:

	PREDICATE	ACTOR	UNDERGOER
31	Uang want	ku I	so' tapayas. NTM papaya

'I want (like) papaya.'

Most commonly the Undergoer tagmeme is absent, or rather, the Undergoer of the Intentive clause is the following clause, as below:

	PREDICATE	ACTOR	<u>UNDERGOER</u>
32	uang want	ku I	daa mangalusung not go.to.river

'I wanted not to go down to the river.'

	PREDICATE	ACTOR	<u>UNDERGOER</u>	
33	Uang want	ku I	minakod so' go.up NTM	okow. you(sg)

'I want to come on up into your (house).'

These are analyzed as two clauses rather than as a complex predicate because of the apparent change in focus. The Actor of the above clause is the non-topic **ku**. The Undergoer tagmeme may thus be considered the focus of the Intentive use of **uang**. In other words, the Intentive clause is always pointing to the following clause as its focus. The filler of the Undergoer tagmeme in this case is a clause having Actor focus, that is the absent **aku** 'I' as expanded below:

		PREDICATE	<u>ACTOR</u>	UNDERGOER
34	Uang ku want I	minakod go.up	aku I	so' okow. NTM you(sg)

'I want to go up into your (house).'

1.4 Quotative Transitive Clause

The Quotative Transitive clause is also a modified Transitive clause having a very restricted usage. It is used only to introduce a string of speech. It consists of Predicate, Actor, and Undergoer tagmemes but no marginal tagmemes are allowed. The Undergoer tagmeme is usually not present, and the Actor may be absent. The single filler in the Predicate slot is the quote verb *komo* 'to say'.

Quotative transitive clause

+ Predicate	<u>±</u> Actor	<u>±</u> Undergoer
komo	Prn P Prn W NP Noun	NP Prn P Prn W

Rules:

1. The Predicate and Actor tagmemes will often be morphophonemically fused together in the first person singular, second person singular, and third person singular pronoun forms.
2. The tagmemes are not permutable.
3. The only filler of the Predicate tagmeme is the unaffixed quotative verb **komo**.

Examples:

The following is an example of Quotative Transitive clause as a full expansion.

	PREDICATE	<u>ACTOR</u>	UNDERGOER
35	Komo	basayo	so' io...
	say	monkey	NTM he

'The monkey said to him ...'

When the Actor tagmeme of the Quotative Transitive clause is filled by a pronoun, the form is often contracted, thus collapsing the Predicate and Actor tagmemes into a single phonological word. An example of the contracted form of the

Predicate and Actor tagmemes is shown below. In these frozen forms the Goal tag-meme is usually absent.

	PREDICATE	ACTOR
36	kama.....	ku ...
	say	I
	'I said to him ...'	

2 Bitransitive Clauses

The two types of Bitransitive clauses include the standard Bitransitive clause and the Petitve Bitransitive clause. The Petitve is restricted to transitive verbs having the *maki-* prefix.

2.1 Bitransitive Clause

The Bitransitive clause is related to the Transitive clause type in that all of the Predicate fillers come from the class of transitive verbs, although not all of the transitive verbs may be fillers in the Bitransitive Predicate slot. The nuclear tag-memes of the Bitransitive clause are Predicate, Actor, Inanimate Undergoer, and Animate Goal. It has been found that when these are all present no marginal tag-memes are allowed. This is most commonly found in the hortatory or expository texts. In narrative-type material the Bitransitive clause with absent nuclear tag-memes will more likely be found.

The terms Animate Goal and Inanimate Undergoer are chosen here in order to conform to the terms chosen for the Transitive clause type. The Transitive type Undergoer is sometimes animate and sometimes inanimate, but, thus far, no example of a Bitransitive clause has been found having an animate undergoer or an inanimate goal. Generally the Inanimate Undergoer has a broad, if not vague, role of a patient or "referent" which may include range or measure. The Animate Goal can have the role of a benefactor or associate.

Bitransitive clause

+ Predicate	<u>±</u> Actor	<u>±</u> Inanimate Undergoer	<u>±</u> Animate Goal	<u>±</u> Location	<u>±</u> Time
Bitrans Pred VP	Prn P	NP	Prn P	Loc P	Tm P
Bitrans Pred Vb	Prn W Prp N NP	Noun	Prn W Prp N NP	Loc W	Tm W

Rules:

1. The Bitransitive verbs include such ones as: **dapat** 'get', **pili** 'choose', **taak** 'give', **awit** 'bring', and **uli** 'return'.
2. The Inanimate Undergoer tagmeme may be permuted to a prepredicate position when it is the focus of the Predicate. This is done for emphasis or when the Inanimate Undergoer tagmeme is the relator pivot of a relative clause.
3. One of the Undergoer and Goal tagmemes will frequently be absent when a Location or Time tagmeme is present.

Examples:

An example of the Bitransitive syntagmeme having all of the nuclear tagmemes is shown below with an Animate Goal focus:

	PREDICATE	<u>ANIMATE</u> <u>GOAL</u>	ACTOR		INANIMATE UNDERGOER
37	Pili' choose	aku I	no' NTM	wainoy tu female this	so' NTM shirt
				tu this	itu. this

'The girl chose for me this shirt.'

The Animate Goal sometimes has the role of "goal," but at other times, as below, its role is more vaguely like that of an "associate" or a "referent." The expansion below of the syntagmeme is a relative clause:

is common for there to be only one or two tagmemes present. Note that the Actor is both the "indirect causer" and the benefactor (Animate Goal) of the action of the Predicate.

	PREDICATE	<u>ACTOR</u>	ANIMATE GOAL	LOCATION					
45	Makialapo' Pet.take	aku I	so' na ali' NTM ... son	dii there	so' NTM	batu mile	duo two	napulu'. Coe.ten	

'I asked my son to take me to mile twelve.'

3 Intransitive Clauses

The subtypes of the Intransitive clause include the standard Intransitive and the Ambient clause types. Though the syntagmeme of the latter is identical to some Intransitive clauses, it is useful to separate them since the Ambient clause type is very restricted in the number of possible tagmemes.

3.1 Intransitive Clause

The Intransitive clause consists of two nuclear tagmemes, Predicate and Actor, and may be expanded by one or two of the marginal tagmemes: Location, Time, Instrument, or Manner. The Predicate is filled by an Intransitive verb phrase. The other tagmemes are filled as in the clause types discussed above. Only the Predicate is obligatory. The intransitive clause is frequently used to carry the Location or Time tagmemes of a discourse. It is also used to indicate Instrument or Manner tagmemes or to introduce participants.

Intransitive clause

+ Predicate	<u>±</u> Actor	<u>±</u> Location	<u>±</u> Time	<u>±</u> Manner	<u>±</u> Instrument
Intran VP Intran Vb	Prn P Prn W Prp N NP	Loc P Loc W NP	Tm P Tm W	Desc W	NP

Rules:

1. The Actor tagmeme may permute to a prepredicate position if the Predicate is marked for Actor focus, especially if it is filled by a phrase several words long.

2. The Actor tagmeme will normally split a predicate phrase when it is filled by a pronoun word. The same can be true when the Actor tagmeme is filled by a short NP.

3. The Time tagmeme may be forefronted to a prepredicate position.

Examples:

The minimal expansion of an Intransitive clause consists of Predicate and Actor tagmemes. The Actor tagmeme may be absent when another clause in the sentence contains the same filler in the Actor slot. Below is an example of a minimal Intransitive clause:

	PREDICATE	<u>ACTOR</u>
46	Lumusung go.to.river	akuo. I

'I'm going downhill (toward the river).'

Even if the Actor tagmeme is long, it frequently follows rather than precedes the Predicate, as below:

	PREDICATE		<u>ACTOR</u>		
47	Kakakid when.go.uphill	po yet	laan it.is.said	siro they	duo munsawo .. two married.couple

'Just when the couple came up from the river, the story goes ...'

	PREDICATE	<u>ACTOR</u>			LOCATION		
48	Muloosa' Rec.bathe	laan it.is.said	ong might	lalaing child	sono that	nai there	diba' ... below

'The child also bathed down below there, it is said ...'

The Actor tagmeme may be permuted to a prepredicate position, especially for emphasis:

	<u>ACTOR</u>		PREDICATE
49	Raragang infant	no that	matiru. sleeping

'The baby is sleeping.'

The Predicate tagmeme of an Intransitive clause may also be split by the Actor tagmeme, especially when the Actor is filled by a pronoun word, as below. The first example has no focus (unless it is the unstated Location tagmeme).

		<div style="border-top: 1px solid black; width: 100%; margin-bottom: 5px;"></div>	
	PREDICATE	<u>ACTOR</u>	PREDICATE
50	Buli can	ko you	lumaga'? come
	'Can you come?'		
		<div style="border-top: 1px solid black; width: 100%; margin-bottom: 5px;"></div>	
	PREDICATE	<u>ACTOR</u>	PREDICATE
51	Nalaid was.long	kai we	wagu kaasuu. then can.enter
	'It was a long time before we could go in.'		

The Intransitive clause is frequently expanded by a Location tagmeme, as below:

		<u>ACTOR</u>	
	PREDICATE	LOCATION	
52	Kalaga' when.come	aku I	so' Balat. NTM Balat
	'When (or then) I got to Balat.'		

As in the Transitive clause type, the Intransitive clause frequently drops the Actor tagmeme when two clauses in the sentence have the same filler semantically in the Actor tagmeme.

		<u>Clause 1</u>		<u>Clause 2</u>
		PREDICATE	PREDICATE	<u>ACTOR</u>
53	.. no' because	kausung taboo	ong kapusawo might when.Rec.marry	kau. you(pl)
	'... because it is taboo if you should marry (one another).'			

The absent Actor tagmeme, even when it is in focus, is quite a common feature in Kalabuan and tends to put more emphasis on the marginal tagmeme(s) that are present. Below is an example with the Actor tagmeme absent but with the marginal Location present:

	PREDICATE		LOCATION			
54	Kalaga'	wagu	dii	so'	wawayoy	ari ...
	when.come	then	there	NTM	bachelors	that

'Then we came to the bachelors' place ...'

As with the Transitive clause type, the Actor tagmeme is never present in natural text when both a Location and Time tagmeme are part of the expansion. For example,

	PREDICATE	LOCATION	TIME			
55	Minugad	dii	so'	Sandakan	ido	niabi.
	went	there	NTM	Sandakan	one	past.day

'I went to Sandakan the day before yesterday.'

The Time tagmeme, to remain a clause level constituent, must remain close to the Predicate, removed by only one intervening tagmeme. This may explain why, in the elicited texts below, the Actor tagmemes are fronted to a prepredicate and medial predicate position:

		<u>ACTOR</u>	PREDICATE	LOCATION	TIME
56	Mungkin	aku	muli'	tuoy	apat ataw limo naminggu.
	perhaps	I	return	here	four or five Coe.weeks

'I'll probably return here in four or five weeks.'

In the example below, the Time tagmeme is permuted to a clause initial position. It is not clear, however, whether it remains as a clause level constituent or is shifted to a sentence level feature:

	(TIME)	PREDICATE	<u>ACTOR</u>	LOCATION
57	Ia' situ	mugad	aku	dii karian.
	now this	go	I	there away.fr.river

'I'm going to the interior now.'

The following are examples of the Intransitive clause type with a Manner tagmeme present:

	PREDICATE	<u>ACTOR</u>	MANNER
58	Monogow call.to	akua' I.even	asikap. quick

'I would call you right away (if something were to happen).'

	PREDICATE		MANNER
59	Okon did.not	ko' Emp	angkang move maali'. strong

'(It) didn't move forcefully.'

	<u>ACTOR</u>	PREDICATE	MANNER
60	Okow you	kumuri' work	awarong. good

'You are working well.'

An Instrument tagmeme can also be attached to the Intransitive clause, as below:

	PREDICATE	<u>ACTOR</u>	INSTRUMENT
61	Minayud followed	aku I	so' karita'. NTM vehicle

'I went by car.'

3.2 Ambient Clause

Ambient clauses are used mostly in speaking about the environment when no agent is referred to. The Ambient clause type can be assumed in the Intransitive clause but is distinctive in that the nuclear tagmeme Actor is never present. Nor are the marginal tagmemes Manner and Instrument present. The Ambient syntagmeme consists of a nuclear Ambient tagmeme and an optional Marginal tagmeme, Location or Time. Since those two are not permutable within a single clause, when both are juxtaposed, Time is better handled as a sentence level feature.

Ambient clause

+ Ambient	+/-Location	+/-Time
Amb Vb	Loc P Loc W	Tm P Tm W

Rules:

1. Location and Time cannot occur within the same expansion.
2. Location and Time are not permutable within the clause.

Examples:

The Ambient tagmeme frequently stands alone in the Ambient clause, as below:

62 AMBIENT
 Asagit.
 cold

 ‘It’s cold.’

The following is an example of the Ambient clause expanded with a Location tagmeme:

63 AMBIENT LOCATION
 Maamut dii waloy.
 hot there house

 ‘It’s hot in the house.’

The following is an example of the Ambient clause expanded with a clause level Time tagmeme:

64 AMBIENT TIME
 Aluub runat tu.
 shady sun this

 ‘It’s cloudy today.’

In the case that both Location and Time are present, the latter is considered a sentence level feature since it is not permutable except to a pre-ambient position:

65 AMBIENT LOCATION (TIME)
 Maris-baris dii karian saniab.
 breeze-breeze there away.fr.river yesterday

'It was breezy in the country yesterday.'

4 Formulaic List Clause

The Formulaic list clause might best be treated simply as a non-complex sentence level constituent rather than a clause except for the use of the Bahasa Malaysia loan word *iaitu* 'that is'. It is used as the introductory statement for lists such as those found in sermons or how-to procedures. It consists of an obligatory Topic followed by an optional Introducer tagmeme.

Formulaic list clause

+ Topic	<u>+Introducer</u>
Num NP	iaitu

Rule:

1. The Topic and Introducer tagmemes are not permutable, but the latter is optional.

Examples:

The full array is illustrated in the example below:

TOPIC		INTRODUCER
66 Turu'	pakara' situ	iaitu ...
seven	matter this	that.is

'The seven matters are ...'

Possibly the more indigenous way of introducing a list such as the one above would have been to simply state the number of matters to be listed. In the example below the Introducer is absent:

TOPIC						
67 Pakara'	yang	katalu:	waroya'	lalaing	yang	tumaay
matter	which	third	be.even	child	which	defecate
nai	salalom	bilik	dardia.			
there	inside	room	class			

'The third thing is there was even a child who defecated right there in the classroom.'

5 Existential Clause

The Existential clause type consists of the obligatory nuclear tagmemes: Existential and Topic. The Existential is frequently found in isolation, but only in response to a question, comment, or situation, and never to initiate a dialogue or a monologue. A marginal Location tagmeme may be attached to the syntagmeme, but it is the only expansion allowed. It appears that Time and other possible tagmemes are either never found in this type of clause or are sentence level constituents when juxtaposed to the Existential clause.

The filler of the Existential tagmeme is either an existential or a negative existential word or phrase. There are two existential words (distantly related to one another) currently used in Kalabuan speech. It appears that *waa* is more indigenous to the language while *waro* may have been more recently borrowed from one of the nearby language groups. Both stems accept the same affixation. There is one negative existential *aido*, possibly related to the root *ido* 'one' and meaning 'not one' or 'none'. The Existential tagmeme seems to work the same whether filled by a negative existential or an existential verb.

There is a very limited number of constituents that can be found in an existential verb phrase. These include the frustrative particle *maam* 'so' and the adverbial *po* 'yet' in our data.

The Topic tagmeme is frequently filled by a nominalized clause or noun phrase. The Location tagmeme is filled by a Location phrase or word.

Existential clause

+ Existential	+ Topic	<u>±</u> Location
Exist P	Nm Cl	Loc P
Exist W	Nm VP	Loc W
Neg Exist P	NP	
Neg Exist W		

Rule:

The Topic and Location tagmemes may permute to a prepredicate position.

Examples:

The minimal Existential clause includes an Existential tagmeme and a Topic tagmeme. Both tagmemes are obligatory except in response to a question where the Topic may be understood from the preceding comment and not repeated in the reply. Below are examples of minimal Existential clauses:

EXISTENTIAL TOPIC

68 Waayo sawo ku ...
be.when spouse I

‘When I have a husband (there-is-then my-spouse) ...’

EXISTENTIAL TOPIC

69 Waaya’ maam una-una’ ano!
is.even Frus friends that.PL

‘Those friends were also there!’

Below are examples of Location tagmemes attached to the syntagmeme:

EXISTENTIAL TOPIC

LOCATION

70 Waroya’ lalaing yang tumaay nai salalom bilik dardia’..
be.even child which defecate there inside room class

‘Then there was the child who defecated in the classroom ...’

EXISTENTIAL TOPIC LOCATION

71 Waa po una-una’ so’ waloy komo laan ..
be yet friends NTM . house say it.is.said

‘There were still more friends in the house, the story goes ...’

The Location tagmeme is frequently permuted to a clause initial position, as in the following examples:

LOCATION

EXISTENTIAL

TOPIC

72 Tuoy situ waro kaniataan kiat so’ baagian no’ wainoy
here this be declaration from Ref part Lig female

inianu no’ sangapan so’ anak no.
did.Ind Pro LIG possess NTM child that

'Right now we have a declaration from the side of the bride, which the owner, you know, of that girl has done.'

	LOCATION	EXISTENTIAL	TOPIC			
73	Paat	sono	waa	bala'	ulang	maayo' mondolon.
	place	that	be	say!	snake	big python

'That place had, you'd say, a large python.'

More rarely, the Location tagmeme may also be permuted to a medial position between the Topic and Predicate tagmemes, as below:

	EXISTENTIAL	LOCATION	TOPIC
74	Waa	tuoy	ulang.
	be	here	snake

'There is a snake here.'

The Topic tagmeme may also be permuted to a position preceding the Existential tagmeme, as in the example below, which fills the Existential slot with a negative existential verb. This clause is often used in response to a direct question, in which case the Topic tagmeme may be absent.

	TOPIC	EXISTENTIAL	LOCATION
75	Io	aido	tuoy.
	he	none	here

'He's not here.'

6 Possessive Clauses

There are two Possessive clause types in Kalabuan. The first is related to the Existential clause. The second closely parallels the Equational clause type. Another possible Possessive clause is formed using the transitive verb *sangap* 'to possess, own'. However, without adding a third type of Possessive clause, this type of clause can be effectively handled simply as a Transitive clause.

6.1 Existential Possessive Clause

The Existential Possessive clause has three constituents: a Possessor, a Possessive, and a Possessed. All three tagmemes are obligatory except possibly as a response. The Possessor tagmeme must be filled with an animate agent. The Pos-

sessive tagmeme is filled with one of the existential or negative existential verbs. The tagmemes are all permutable depending on the focus and emphasis of the sentence. Below is the array for the Existential Possessive clause type.

Existential Possessive clause

+ Possessor	+ Possessive	+ Possessed
NP Prn P Prn W	Exist Neg Exist	Nom VP Nom Vb NP Noun

Rules:

1. The Possessor and Possessed may permute with each other.
2. The Possessor and Possessed may both permute to a prepredicate position in the same clause.

Examples:

The favored ordering of the tagmemes of an Existential Possessive clause is illustrated below as Possessor filled by a noun phrase, Possessive filled by an existential word, and Possessed filled by a nominalized verb.

	POSSESSOR	POSSESSIVE	POSSESSED
76	Lalaing situ child this	waa have	nabintos. cut

‘This child has a cut.’

	POSSESSOR	POSSESSIVE	POSSESSED
77	Aku I	waro have	kapagow-pagow paluang sadia’. can.a.little.little opportunity only

‘I have only a few opportunities.’

The following examples illustrate the permutability of the clause according to the focus. The first three show the three possible options for focus. These clauses were all elicited as Interrogative clauses. Presumably the tagmeme that is the focus

of the Predicate in each clause either precedes the other tagmeme or is marked as topic.

- 78 1) POSSESSOR POSSESSIVE POSSESSED
 Kau waa mundok?
 you(pl) have tapioca

‘You have tapioca?’

- 79 2) POSSESSIVE . POSSESSED POSSESSOR
 Waa mundok kau?
 have tapioca you(pl)

‘Do you have tapioca?’

- 80 3) POSSESSIVE POSSESSOR POSSESSED
 Waa sakau mundok?
 have NTM.you(pl) tapioca

‘Do you have tapioca?’

- 81 POSSESSIVE POSSESSOR POSSESSED
 Waro so’ aku kapagow-pagow.
 be NTM I some.some

‘I have a few.’

6.2 Equational Possessive Clause

The Equational Possessive clause has two constituents: a Possessed and a Possessor. Both tagmemes are obligatory except possibly in response to a question or comment. The tagmemes are not permutable, which is characteristic of the Equational clause type also. Actually, the possessive attributes of this clause are acquired at the phrase level within the possessive noun phrase of the Possessor tagmeme.

Equational Possessive clause

+ Possessed	+ Possessor
NP Spec	Poss NP

Examples:

	POSSESSED		POSSESSOR
82	Waloy situ		waloy ni Bani.
	house this		house NTM Bani

‘This house is Bani’s house.’

	POSSESSED	POSSESSOR	
83	Ono	waloy	nio.
	that	house	his

‘That is his house.’

NON-VERBAL CLAUSES

7 Equative Clause

The Equative clause consists of two obligatory tagmemes: Topic and Equivalent. These can be filled with various nominals and nominalized strings.

Equative clause

+ Topic	+ Equivalent
NP	Nom VP
Prn P	Nom Vb
Prn W	NP
	Prp N
	Noun

Rules:

1. No marginal tagmemes are allowed in the expansions and both tagmemes are obligatory.
2. No permutation of the tagmemes is allowed. Examples:

A minimal Equative clause, as illustrated below, may consist of simply two words or a full nominalized clause.

	TOPIC	EQUIVALENT
84	Io he	guru. teacher

'He is a teacher.'

	TOPIC	EQUIVALENT
85	Ono that	kayu tagas. tree ironwood

'That is an ironwood tree.'

	TOPIC	EQUIVALENT
86	Iri that	wainoy duo female two
		kaiwan. person

'There were two women.'

	TOPIC	EQUIVALENT
87	Irio that	ontob palanuki. end mousedeer

'That was the end of that mousedeer.'

	TOPIC	EQUIVALENT
88	Orogo nio price it	talu napulu' om duo. three ten and two

'The price is thirty-two (dollars).'

The following example shows the Equivalent tagmeme filled by a clause.

	TOPIC	EQUIVALENT
89	Onoyo that.is	anan ku mananom so' sansam. for I plant NTM vegetable

'That's the reason I'm planting some vegetables.'

	TOPIC	EQUIVALENT			
90	Onoyo that.is	anan for	daa not	buli can	mangarait pronounce
	so'	ada'	no'	iwan.	
	NTM name	Lig		in-law	

'That's why (you) cannot pronounce your in-laws' names.'

The following example shows the Topic tagmeme filled by a possessed NP and the Equivalent filled by a Nominalized VP:

	TOPIC	EQUIVALENT		
91	Kauangan desire	mai our	monosop drink	mangakan-ngakan. eat.greedily

'Our desire is to drink and eat heartily.'

8 Descriptive Clauses

Besides the standard Descriptive clause, a second subtype is the Comparative clause. These could be collapsed within a single formula, but are separated as subtypes by the fact that the Comparative clause has a much more restricted array, especially in regard to the tagmeme fillers.

8.1 Descriptive Clause

The Descriptive clause is related to the Equative clause above except that the Equivalent tagmeme of the latter clause type is replaced by a Description element. Both nuclear Description and Topic tagmemes are obligatory. There is possibly a clause level Time tagmeme but only a couple of examples have been found thus far and the permutability is not known.

Descriptive clause

+ Description	+ Topic	<u>±</u> Time
Desc P	NP	Tm P
Desc W	Prn P	Tm W
Eval P	Prn W	
Eval W	Noun	
	Spec	
	VP	
	Vb	

Rules:

1. The Description and Topic tagmemes are permutable, but not readily so, except in the case of relative clauses.
2. The Topic tagmeme is sometimes understood from the context of the discourse and thus absent from the clause.
3. The Description tagmeme may be split by the Topic in order to emphasize the Description.

Examples:

A minimal expansion of the Descriptive syntagmeme consists of a Description tagmeme and a Topic tagmeme. In its simplest form the clause itself will consist of two words:

	DESCRIPTION	TOPIC
92	Alaa' afraid	aku. I

'I am afraid.'

	DESCRIPTION	TOPIC
93	Alanggawo longer	punti niono. banana his.SG

'His banana tree grew taller.'

	DESCRIPTION		TOPIC	
94	Maamut hot	marong very	kaiwan body	niono. his.SG

'He has a high fever.'

The two nuclear tagmemes are occasionally permuted, especially as relative clauses (third example below), and when juxtaposed to other clauses:

	TOPIC	DESCRIPTION		
95	Itu this	daaya' not.even	awagat heavy	marong. very

'This is not so very heavy.'

	TOPIC	DESCRIPTION						
96	Laid long.tm	ku I	opodoki small.Rem	buli can	akua' I.even	mantagial play	so' NTM	siro. they

'While I was young, I could play with them.'

	TOPIC	DESCRIPTION				DESCRIPTION	
97	Pangalaman yang experience which	nadapatan got	ku I	so' NTM	bagi for	so' NTM	lalaing asuango. child many.Mkr

'Experiences which I've had with the children are many.'

In the following example the Description tagmeme is split by the Topic in much the same way that the Predicate can be split by the Actor in verbal clause types. In this case it adds emphasis to the Description.

	DESCRIPTION	TOPIC	DESCRIPTION
98	Asusa' difficult	kai we	marong. very

'We were very uneasy.'

The Description tagmeme can at times have more of an evaluative element as its filler than an actual description. In the examples below the Description tagmeme "evaluates" the Topic more than it actually describes it. These are translated like Existential clauses.

	DESCRIPTION		TOPIC		
99	Asuang	po	pakara-pakara'	yang	wokon.
	many	yet	matters	which	other

'There are many other matters, too.'

	DESCRIPTIVE		TOPIC		
100	Asuang		tana' no'	akod	niono.
	many		dirt Lig	foot	his.SG

'There is a lot of dirt on his foot.'

The single example of a Time tagmeme is an elicited example in which the Time is juxtaposed to the end of the syntagmeme. It is not clearly a clause level constituent, but may belong to the sentence level.

	DESCRIPTION		TOPIC	(TIME)	
101	Asukup	po	kumuri'	sasarap	tu.
	enough	yet	work	morning	this

'That's enough work for this morning.'

8.2 Comparative Descriptive Clause

The Comparative Descriptive clause consists of two obligatory tagmemes: Topic and Comparison. A marginal Time tagmeme may also be added to the expansion. This clause type is a subtype of the Descriptive clause since they are both semantically "descriptive type" clauses. However, the syntax is different in that the order is reversed from the favored Description-Topic order of the Descriptive clause and the tagmemes are not permutable.

Comparative Description clause

+ Topic	\pm Location	\pm Time	+ Comparison
NP	Loc P Loc W	Tm P Tm W	Comp NP

Rules:

1. The order of the tagmemes cannot be permuted.

2. The Location and Time margins cannot appear in the same expansion.

Examples:

Two minimal Comparative Descriptive clauses are shown below:

	TOPIC		COMPARISON
102	Bokaan really	awarong good	ugut sono. like that

‘(That) is really good when it happens like that.’

	TOPIC		COMPARISON			
103	Ayo’ no’ big LIG	tian stomach	siri that	ugut-ugut like-like	so’ NTM	ampung. drum

‘The size of the stomach was almost like a drum.’

The following example of a Comparative clause has a Topic head with three Comparison comment tagmemes dependent on it:

		TOPIC		COMPARISON				
104	Waa po be yet	pudi’ tangaron also talk	ku I	so’ ugut NTM like	so’ NTM	tutuo adult	nasiro they	

COMPARISON

okon ko’
don’t EMP

ugut so’ tangaron ku
like NTM talk I

COMPARISON

om ugut
and like

so’ apanday akuo marong mainkalaalabi
NTM know I very increase

‘There is still another matter, I’ll talk like their parents and not like myself, but rather as if I am very wise.’

The natural order of the syntagmeme does not appear to follow that of the other clause types with Location following the nuclear tagmemes. Rather, as the following example shows, Location occurs between the two nuclear constituents. This can also be accounted for by treating Location as a constituent of an embedded phrase, but the present solution seems more economical.

	TOPIC	LOCATION	COMPARISON		
105	Aido none	ulang snake	nai there	sono ugut so' that like NTM	niu. coconut

'There is no snake there (as big around) as a coconut tree.'

					TOPIC	COMPARISON
106	Tapi' waa but be	kopodok little	kiat from	so' NTM	sabap nasiro reason they	ugut sono. like that

'But this is part of the reason they are like that.'

The Time tagmeme follows the same pattern as the Location margin:

	TOPIC	TIME	COMPARISON
107	Wainoy female	salalu always	ugut so' ono. like NTM that

'Girls are always like that!'

9 Locative Clause

The Locative clause type consists of the two nuclear tagmemes, Location and Topic. A Time tagmeme may be added to the syntagmeme as a clause level constituent. This clause type is closely related to both the Descriptive and Equative clauses. In its unpermuted arrangement it is similar to the former, while in its permuted order it appears like an Equative type clause. Its distinctive element is that as a non-verbal clause it stresses the location or source of a Topic rather than the action or state of the Actor/Topic.

Locative clause

+ Location	<u>±</u> Topic	<u>±</u> Time
Loc P	NP	Tm P
Loc W	Noun	Tm W
NP	Prn P	
	Prn W	
	Spec	

Rules:

1. The Topic tagmeme is nuclear to the array but is optional in some relative and subordinate clauses and occasionally in other sentences having other clauses.
2. The Topic and Time tagmemes may permute to a position before the Location tagmeme.

Examples:

In its unpermuted and unexpanded form the Location syntagmeme consists of a Location and Topic tagmeme, in that order:

	LOCATION		TOPIC
108	Dii	diba'	kalawi'i.
	there	below	wok

'The wok is down below.'

	LOCATION		TOPIC
109	Dii	nataado	iamo.
	there	outside	mat

'The mat is outside.'

If the Location and Topic tagmemes are permuted so that the Topic precedes the Location, the clause very much resembles the Equative clause type, as in the example below:

	TOPIC	LOCATION				
110	Onoyo	dii	sikod	so'	midia'	no.
	that	on	above	NTM	table	that

'That (thing) is on the table.'

In the following example the Location tagmeme has the role of source more than of a location:

	TOPIC	LOCATION		
111	Ono	kiat	sakau	sanganak-anak.
	that	from	NTM.you(pl)	...-...

'That is from ...'

The Topic tagmeme may be absent from the clause leaving only the Location slot filled. In this case, the Location tagmeme could be interpreted as a lone sentence level tagmeme (as is Time in some cases). However, for the sake of economy and since there are no clear examples of a sentence level Location tagmeme, this clause is viewed as having only a single tagmeme present.

		LOCATION			
112	No'	bang	dii	bandar	aido kana'.
	because	when	in	town	none side.dish

'Because when (we are) in town there is no meat.'

The following Location clause is expanded by a Time tagmeme, which is also permuted to a forefronted position:

	TIME		TOPIC		LOCATION
113	Duo po	naminggu	kai		tuoy.
	two yet	Coe.weeks	we		here

'Two more weeks we'll be here.'

10 Modifications

Modifications of Declarative clauses include Interrogative, Imperative, Linking of clauses, and Relative clauses.

10.1 Interrogatives

All of the Interrogative type clauses are handled as modifications of one of the other clause types. The two subtypes of Interrogative include the Yes/No Interrogative and the Information Interrogative.

10.1.1 Yes/No Interrogative

The Yes/No Interrogative syntagmeme follows its Declarative counterpart except that there is an intonational change. That is, no new tagmemes are added, nor is there a change in the presence or ordering of the original tagmemes of the clause, but an interrogative intonation pattern is laid over the Declarative clause.

Yes/No Interrogative clause

+ Declaration	+ Intonation
Decl Cl	Inton Mod

Examples:

An example of the Yes/No Interrogative laid over two clauses is shown below:

	PREDICATE	ACTOR	UNDERGOER	TIME
114	Uang	mu	mugad dii bandar	ia' situ?
	want	you	go to town	now this

'Do you want to go to town now?'

10.1.2 Information Interrogative

The Information Interrogative clauses may be formed from a Declarative clause in one of two ways: 1) by the simple addition of an Interrogative tagmeme to the initial position in the clause, or 2) by replacing one of the other tagmemes with an interrogative word and fronting it to an initial position. In the case of the latter it may replace any one of the tagmemes.

Information Interrogative clause

+ Interrogative	+ Declaration
Inter P or W	Decl Cl Mod Decl Cl

The following array shows formulas for the two ways of forming Information Interrogative clauses of the Transitive type. The other clause types operate in a similar fashion.

1)	+ Interrogative	+ Predicate	+ Actor	+ Undergoer
	Inter P or W	[see Tran Cl type for fillers]		
2)	+ Interrogative (Undergoer)	+ Predicate	+ Actor	
	Inter P or W	[see Tran Cl type for fillers]		

3)	+ Interrogative (Actor) Inter P or W	+ Predicate [see Tran Cl type for fillers]	+ Undergoer
----	---	---	-------------

Each of the interrogative words can be assigned a tagmeme class. These words may replace similar tagmeme constituents in any clause. Some of these may belong to more than one class. Those interrogatives which may replace marginal tagmemes fill the first subtype of Information Interrogative clauses:

sambia'	'when'	TIME
umbo	'where'	LOCATION
ada' komo	'how'	MANNER
kuro	'why'	REASON

Those interrogatives that may fill the second subtype include the above and the following:

ada'	'what'	TOPIC
osoy	'who'	ACTOR
piro	'how many'	UNDERGOER
kura'	'how many'	UNDERGOER
kamuro	'how many'	UNDERGOER

Examples:

Examples of the two subtypes of Interrogative Transitive clauses are shown below:

SUBTYPE I

	(Time)			
	INTERROGATIVE	PREDICATE	ACTOR	<u>UNDERGOER</u>
115	Sambia'	iuli'	mu	ono?
	when	return	you	that

'When will you return it?'

	(Location)			
	INTERROGATIVE	PREDICATE	<u>ACTOR</u>	UNDERGOER
116	Umbo	mamaal	ko	so' waloy?
	where	make	you(sg)	NTM house

'Where will you build the house?'

	(Manner)				
	<u>INTERROGATIVE</u>	<u>ACTOR</u>	PREDICATE	UNDERGOER	
117	Ada' komo	si maman	mamatoy	so' ulang sono?	
	what say	TM uncle	kill	NTM snake that	

'How did uncle kill the snake?'

	(Reason)				
	<u>INTERROGATIVE</u>	<u>ACTOR</u>	PREDICATE	UNDERGOER	
118	Kuro	io	mangalap	so' tiipi?	
	why	he	take	NTM tape.recorder	

'Why did he take that tape recorder?'

SUBTYPE II

	(Undergoer)				
	<u>INTERROGATIVE</u>	PREDICATE	ACTOR		
119	Osoy	inawit	no' karabaw siri?		
	who	brought	NTM buffalo that		

'Who was brought by that water buffalo?'

	(Undergoer)				
	<u>INTERROGATIVE</u>	PREDICATE	LOCATION		
120	Ada'	katulis-tulis	so' surat sono?		
	what	able.to.write	NTM letter that		

'What can be written in those letters?'

Similar modifications can be made on non-verbal clause types such as the Location type clause, as below:

SUBTYPE I:

	(Measure)				
	<u>INTERROGATIVE</u>	TIME	TOPIC	LOCATION	
121	Kura'	laid	nasiro	dii?	
	how.many	long.tm	they	there	

'How long have they been there?'

SUBTYPE II:

	(Location)			
	INTERROGATIVE	TOPIC		
122	Umboya'	no' ulang	siri?	
	where	NTM snake	that	

'Where is that snake?'

10.2 Imperative Clause

In forming an Imperative type clause from a Declarative clause, the Actor tagmeme is obligatorily absent and the verb is marked for imperative. Some examples of Imperative clauses are below:

	PREDICATE	UNDERGOER	LOCATION	
123	Indadi'	kai tuoy	so' waloy	situ.
	wait	we here	NTM house	this

'Wait for us here at this house.'

	PREDICATE	UNDERGOER	
124	Siawi' po	itu.	
	look yet	this	

'Look at this!'

	PREDICATE	LOCATION	
125	Paatago'	nai so' baladi	no.
	put	there NTM pail	that

'Put (it) there in the pail.'

Negative Imperatives are formed using the negative imperative word with the imperative verb if it is a verbal clause. If not, then the negative imperative stands alone:

	PREDICATE	UNDERGOER	
126	Atong waalo'	ugut sono!	
	don't do	like that	

'Don't do that!'

	NEGATIVE	TOPIC		
127	Atongo don't	no' NTM	bisara' discussion	araay. bad

'Don't (bring) litigation (against one another), because it is bad.'

10.3 Linking of clauses

Two or more clauses may be linked together to form a sentence. The links are expounded by conjunctions. Here is a partial list of the conjunctions:

insan	'even though'
insid	'however'
tapi'	'but'
dako'	'but'
sagua'	'but'
ong	'whether'
bang	'if, when'
pasal	'because'
sabap	'because'
dama'	'because'
no'	'because'
paga'	'when'
opod	'afterwards'

Examples:

The following example shows a clause juxtaposed to another clause. The linking tagmeme is obligatorily clause initial:

	INTRO	DECL-CLAUSE-1	DECL-CLAUSE-2
128	Moopod finish	kai mangapuy, we cook	mangakano kaio. eat.already we

'After we cooked, we ate.'

The next example illustrates the linking of the first clause to the second clause, and the third clause to the first two.

	INTRO		LINK		DECL-CLAUSE-1
129	Tapi' ia' but now	situ insan this even.though		kadura' so' when.spit NTM	labuu person

DECL CLAUSE 2

daidoyo	makitaak	so'	piu'
not.one	request	NTM	chicken

LINK

no'
because

DECL CLAUSE 3

waayo	ugama.
there.is	religion

'But now, even though someone spits, no one asks for a chicken (from him), because we have religion.'

This example shows both the first and second Declarative clauses linked by the single linking tagmeme to the third Declarative clause:

	INTRO		DECL-CLAUSE-1			
130	Tapi'	bang	nagulu	masi	po	kaapir
	but	if	before	still	yet	pagan

DECL-CLAUSE-2		DECL-CLAUSE-3
ong	aduraan	makitaak
should	spit	request
		so'
		NTM
		piu'.
		chicken

'But in earlier times, when we were still pagan, if someone would spit, there would be a request of a chicken.'

	INTRO	LINK	DECL-CLAUSE-1		DECL-CLAUSE-2
131	Jadi'	paga'	napangkul	kuo	minatoyo
	then	when	had.hit	I	dead.already
					really

'So when I hit (it), (it) was dead for sure.'

The following sentences show a linking of the second Declarative clause to the first:

	DECL-CLAUSE-1			
132	Uang	marong	mualud	so'
	want	very	quarrel	NTM
				aku,
				I

LINK	DECL-CLAUSE-2			
insid	araayan	so'	atangaran	ku
however	bad	NTM	talk	io
				I
				she

so' liliwo niono.
NTM behavior her(sg)

'(She) wants very much to pick a quarrel with me, however, she is bad, I say, in her behavior.'

	DECL-CLAUSE-1	IMPV-CL-2	LINK	DECL-CLAUSE-3	
133	Kamaku so' io,	timbako'yo	sagua'	nalaiw wagu palanuk tu.	
	say.I NTM he	shoot	but	fled then deer this	

'I said to him, "Shoot it!" but then the mousedeer ran away.'

10.4 Relative Clause

A form of subordination is the Relative clause. This is formed in one of two ways. The most common is simply by juxtaposition of the subordinate clause to the Pivot of the matrix clause. The Pivot is that word which serves a role for both the dependent and the independent clauses. The array for the Relative clause is the same as the other Subordinate clauses. The Declaration tagmeme is also filled by a Modified Declarative clause in some cases.

Note that in the following the Pivot tagmeme is the Goal of the two clauses. In the first clause it is non-topic while in the second clause it is the focus of the Predicate and thus the clause topic.

	Clause 1		Clause 2	
		UNDERGOER		
		REL-PIVOT	PREDICATE	ACTOR
134	Nakaambota'	so' ulang	inaungan	no' asu.
	already.met.even	NTM snake	barked.at	NTM dog

'(He) had also already found the snake at which the dog barked.'

With the influence of Bahasa Malaysia a second way of forming a Relative clause is to use the Bahasa Malaysia pivot word yang 'which', as in the example below:

	<u>(INANIMATE UNDERGOER)</u> <u>PIVOT</u>	PREDICATE	ACTOR
135	Pagalaman yang experience which	nadapatan had	ku I

ANINMATE
GOAL

so'	bagi	so'	lalaing.
NTM	for	NTM	child

'The experience which I've had with the children.'

See also example 97 for a relative clause.

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